was happening and to call for election of regimental committees to maintain order in the army. Now these two men represented two armies, and their word carried more weight than that of the commanders of those armies. They bitterly accused the Executive Committee of weakness and demanded that it give them clear instructions on fraternization. I tried to explain that what they described as weakness in our attitude was due to our unfamiliarity with the problems of the army. Of course we were opposed to fraternization, I said, but what should we do about it?

"First of all, say what you think clearly and firmly," replied Kuchin.

The Committee decided to address an appeal to the front, restating the Soviet's attitude on national defense. I asked Kuchin and Vilenkin to help me. Our draft denounced as treason the attempts to undermine discipline or incite soldiers to disobedience and, in particular, to fraternization with the enemy. After the appeal was approved by the Executive Committee, I wrote an editorial for *Izvestia* elaborating our policy, showed the copy to Dan and two or three other members of our editorial staff, and sent it to the printing plant.

When I reached the plant in the evening my editorial had not been set. The foreman explained that the manager of the printing plant had objected to the article. I returned the copy to the foreman and told him to set it at once. A few minutes later the manager rushed in and handed it back to me, declaring that he would not permit the printing of counterrevolutionary insinuations against Communist comrades and that his men would stop the presses rather than set it. Without replying, I dialed the nearest military barracks, called the chairman of the regimental committee to the telephone, and asked him to hold the line, telling him I might have an urgent message for him. Then I said to the manager, "If you try to sabotage the orders of the Executive Committee, I will call in a service company, occupy the building, and eject you and your men bodily from the premises."

"You don't dare do that," the manager shouted, but then he realized I was not bluffing. The editorial appeared the next morning on the front page.

By the middle of May no doubt remained that the Bolshevist slogan of fraternization amounted to a call for a separate truce as a step toward a separate peace with Germany. In fact, fraternization was limited to the Russian front, where the German Command openly supported it; there was practically none on the Western Front. Willingly or not, the Bolsheviks worked hand in hand with German militarists. They denied, however, that they worked for a separate peace, and the All-Russian conference of Communist Organizations declared it slanderous to accuse them of doing so.

The argument the soldiers understood best was that fraternization